

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 ISO-00 EUR-08 SS-07 AID-01 NSC-06 /030 W

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R 121115Z FEB 75

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7442

INFO AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MASERU

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

CINCLANT

CINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 0442

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

CINCLANT AND CINCEUR FOR POLADS

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TZ, RH, SF

SUBJECT: FONMIN MALECELA TALKS WITH CONGRESSMAN DIGGS

1. SUMMARY: FONMIN MALECELA IN TALK WITH CODEL DIGGS
FEBURARY 11 WAS CAUTIOUSLY HOPEFUL THAT NEGOTIATIONS ON
RHODESIA WILL BE HELD SOON AND THAT THEY MAY BE SUCCESSFUL.
HE CREDITS PRESSURE BY SOUTH AFRICA ON SMITH FOR THIS STATE
AFFAIRS. MALECELA SUGGESTS U.S. COULD FACILITATE PEACEFUL
NEGOTIATIONS ON RHODESIA BY MAKING CLEAR TO SMITH HIS REGIME
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IS FINISHED; PUBLICLY PLEDGING SUPPORT TO SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME

OF NEGOTIATIONS; AND WARNING SMITH THAT IF NEGOTIATIONS FAIL, AND WAR RESUMES, THAT HE CANNOT COUNT ON U.S. MILITARY OR OTHER ASSISTANCE. END SUMMARY.

2. CONGRESSMAN DIGGS ACCOMPANIED BY MS. YATES OF HIS STAFF AND MYSELF MET WITH FONMIN MALECELA IN HIS OFFICE FEBRUARY 11. CODEL APOLOGIZED FOR FAILING TO ARRIVE DAR ES SALAAM FEBRUARY 8 AS SCHEDULED BUT SWISS AIR FLIGHT FROM JOHANNESBURG HAD BEEN CANCELLED. HE DEEPLY REGRETTED MISSING APPOINTMENT WITH MWALIMU FEBRUARY 9 BUT GRATEFUL FOR CHANCE TO TALK WITH FONMIN BEFORE HE DEPARTS DAR ES SALAAM LATER IN DAY.

3. MELECELA WARMLY WELCOMED CODEL SAYING HE WOULD LIKE TO BRING CODEL UP TO DATE SINCE THEIR LAST TALK IN NYC LAST FALL.

A. RHODESIA - ALL CONCERNED WERE GUARDEDLY OPTIMISTIC. AFRICANS HAD SEEMINGLY SETTLED THEIR DIFFERENCES AND UNITY OF RHODESIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS UNDER ANC IS HOLDING. EQUALLY SIGNIFICANT, SOUTH AFRICA IS ACTIVELY PRESSURING SMITH TO SEEK NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. NEXT STEP NOW IS TO HOLD CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE TO NEGOTIATE BASIS OF RHODESIAN INDEPENDENCE. SMITH WANTS TO MEET DIRECTLY WITH ANC AS PORTUGUESE MET DIRECTLY WITH FRELIMO IN LUSAKA, BUT ANC HAS TOLD HIM THERE MUST BE A THIRD PARTY BECAUSE RHODESIAN SITUATION DIFFERENT FROM MOZAMBIQUE. PORTUGUESE HAD ALREADY AGREED TO FULL INDEPENDENCE WHEN THEY MET WITH FRELIMO; SMITH HAS NOT YET AGREED TO INDEPENDENCE FOR MAJORITY OF PEOPLE IN RHODESIA. THEREFORE MEDIATOR NEEDED TO BRING TWO SIDES TOGETHER. AFRICANS PREPARED, HOWEVER, TO ENTER INTO SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, AFRICANS WILL NOT DEMAND ONE MAN-ONE VOTE AS PREREQUISITE FOR INDEPENDENCE IN RHODESIA. AFTER ALL, MALECELA SAID, TANZANIA, KENYA, AND MANY OTHER COUNTRIES IN AFRICA GAINED INDEPENDENCE WITH LIMITS ON SUFFRAGE. COULD NOT REASONABLY DEMAND CONDITIONS FOR RHODESIA WHICH HAD NOT BEEN PRESENT AT TIME OF THEIR OWN INDEPENDENCE. OUTSIDERS SHOULD NOT TRY TO TELL RHODESIANS, BLACK OR WHITE, HOW TO SET UP OR TO RUN THEIR GOVERNMENT. PRINCIPLE OF ACTIVE AFRICAN PARTICIPATION IN ALL ASPECTS OF INDEPENDENT RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER, MUST BE ACCEPTED. ALSO U.S. AND OTHERS SHOULD NOT THINK THAT TANZANIAN COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA IN FACILITATING PROCESS OF INDEPENDENCE IN RHODESIA OR IN NAMIBIA MEANT TANZANIA HAD ACCEPTED "DIALOGUE" WITH SOUTH AFRICA.

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TANZANIA HAS NOT. "DIALOGUE" MEANS SITTING DOWN WITH SOUTH AFRICA TO WORK OUT HOW TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS. THIS NOT RPT NOT POSSIBLE FOR BLACK AFRICAN STATES AS LONG AS SOUTH AFRICA PRACTICES APARTHEID. TANZANIA ADHERES TO THE POLICY LAID DOWN IN THE 1969 LUSAKA MANIFESTO, ARTICLE 20. TO WORK WITH SOUTH AFRICA TO FIND WAY PEACEFULLY FOR PEOPLES OF RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA TO BECOME INDEPENDENT, HOWEVER, IS ANOTHER MATTER. TANZANIA IS PREPARED TO HELP IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS AS BEST IT CAN AND, IN THIS

REGARD, TO COOPERATE WITH SOUTH AFRICA. TODAY, MALECELA SAID, SOUTH AFRICA APPEARS TO BE SINCERE IN ITS DESIRE FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA. SMITH MUST UNDERSTAND THAT THIS MAY BE HIS LAST CHANCE FOR SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS. IF THESE NEGOTIATIONS FAIL, ONLY ALTERNATIVE IS CONTINUATION OF WAR -- AND ONLY ALTERNATIVES IN WAR ARE TO WIN OR TO LOSE. CODEL ASKED MALECELA'S OPINION WHAT U.S. POLICY SHOULD BE TOWARD RHODESIA. MALECELA, IN ASIDE, COMMENTED HE DID NOT WITH TO INTERFERE IN AFFAIRS OF THIRD STATE, BUT LAST TIME HE DISCUSSED U.S. POLICY WITH SENIOR U.S. OFFICIAL FROM WASHINGTON, DONALD EASUM, THOUGH THEY HAD NOT AGREED ON ALL POINTS HE RESPECTED EASUM'S VIEWS AND THEY HAD UNDERSTOOD ONE ANOTHER. THAT OFFICIAL HAS NOW LEFT OFFICE. MALECELA IS NOT SANGUINE, THEREFORE, ABOUT WORTH SUCH TALKS. MALECELA THEN SAID THAT U.S. COULD ANNOUNCE NOW TO SMITH THAT HIS REGIME HAS NO RPT NO FUTURE. U.S. COULD PLEDGE ITS FULL SUPPORT PUBLICLY TO SUCCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS. FINALLY U.S. COULD MAKE SURE SMITH UNDERSTANDS THAT IF NEGOTIATIONS FAIL, AND WAR RESUMES, HE CAN NOT COUNT ON U.S. MILITARY OR OTHER AID. REPEAL OF BYRD AMENDMENT WOULD ALSO STILL HAVE VALUE. IN MORE GENERAL TERMS, U.S. HAS RECENTLY APPEARED TO AFRICANS TO OPPOSE END OF REMAINING COLONIAL REGIMES IN AFRICA. U.S. COULD RE-GAIN SOME LOST PRESTIGE BY CLEARLY SUPPORTING END OF COLONIALISM IN FRENCH SOMALILAND, SEYCHELLES, COMOROS, RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 0442

B. MOZAMBIQUE - SOME WHITES LEAVING AND THAT MEANS LOSS OF SKILLS, BUT PERHAPS BEST TO KNOW FULL LOSS SOONER THAN LATER. ALSO MOZAMBIQUE STARTING INDEPENDENT LIFE WITH ESTIMATED \$800 MILLION DEBT. WILL NEED HELP FROM DONOR NATIONS, BUT SHOULD MAKE IT.

C. ANGOLA - TANZANIANS ALSO HOPEFUL EVENTS WILL MOVE FORWARD FAIRLY SMOOTHLY HERE AS WELL. ANGOLA HAS MORE MONEY. CABINDA IS EXPECTED TO STAY A PART OF ANGOLA, AT LEAST FOR NEXT FEW YEARS.

D. SEYCHELLES AND COMORO ISLANDS -- INDEPENDENCE WILL COME TO THESE ISLAND STATES IN 1975. TANZANIA DOES NOT EXPECT ANY SIGNIFICANT DIFFICULTIES IN THESE TERRITORIES AS THEY MOVE TO INDEPENDENCE.

E. NAMIBIA - HERE TOO SOUTH AFRICA IS SEEMINGLY PREPARED
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TO COOPERATE IN PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE.
IT IS EVEN POSSIBLE THAT NAMIBIA TOO COULD BECOME
INDEPENDENT IN 1975.

4. MALECELA SAID THERE WERE TWO OTHER ITEMS HE WISHED TO MENTION TO CODEL. THESE WERE OF ALMOST PERSONAL NATURE.

A. AFRO-AMERICAN HERITAGE - BLACKS IN AMERICA HAVE HAD BENEFIT OF LIVING IN MOST CIVILIZED COUNTRY IN WORLD FOR 400 YEARS. WHILE BLACKS DID NOT HAVE FULL ACCESS TO ALL BENEFITS OF THAT CIVILIZATION, MANY HAVE BECOME TECHNICALLY TRAINED. WHEN THE DECOLONIZATION OF AFRICA IS FINALLY COMPLETED, AND THAT DAY IS NOW CLEARLY NEAR, AFRICANS HOPE THEIR BROTHERS IN AMERICA WILL NOT FORGET THEM OR THEIR LAND OF ORIGIN. AFRICANS HOPE, MALECELA SAID, THAT BLACK AMERICANS WILL BE WILLING TO COME BACK TO AFRICA IN ORDER TO SHARE THEIR SKILLS WITH THEIR BROTHERS HERE. AFRICA NEEDS THESE SKILLS AND IT WOULD BE ESPECIALLY APPRECIATED IF BLACK AMERICANS HELPED.

B. MUHAMMED ALI - PRESS HAS RECENTLY CARRIED STORY, MALECELA SAID, THAT MUHAMMED ALI IS PLANNING TO FIGHT EXHIBITION MATCH IN SOUTH AFRICA WITH PROCEEDS TO GO TO EDUCATION OF BLACKS. ALL BLACKS IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA ARE APPALLED AT THIS PROPOSAL AND URGE MOST FERVENTLY THAT ALI NOT GO THROUGH WITH MATCH, WHATEVER USE OF PROCEEDS. TANZANIA IS POOR, BUT TANGOV COULD

CHARGE ON BEHALF ALI TSHS 10 (U.S. \$1.50) FOR ADMISSION TO NATIONAL STADIUM JUST TO SEE ALI IN PERSON AND HALF DAR ES SALAAM WOULD TRY TO BUY TICKET. ALI CAN MAKE PLENTY OF MONEY IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA WITHOUT GOING TO SOUTH AFRICA. IF ALI DOES GO, HE WILL BE CONDEMNED AND HE WILL NEVER REGAIN PEOPLE'S RESPECT. (CODEL SUBSEQUENTLY SENT ALI TELEGRAM REPORTING THIS STRONG REACTION TO HIS PROPOSED EXHIBITION MATCH IN SOUTH AFRICA.)

5. COMMENT: MALECELA WAS IN SERIOUS, SOBER MOOD DURING DISCUSSION SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES. HIS CONCILIATORY REMARKS CONCERNING SOUTH AFRICA WERE A SURPRISE, LEADING TO MUSING WHETHER HE HAD RECENTLY MET, AND BEEN INFLUENCED BY, SOUTH AFRICAN FONMIN MULLER IN LUSAKA AS PRESS IMPLIED. AFTER MEETING ASKED CLOSE AIDE OF MALECELA (BERNARD MUGANDA) IF MALECELA AND MULLER HAD MET IN LUSAKA. MUGANDA SAID MALECELA DENIED MEETING MULLER. WHATEVER HAS BEEN CATALYST, MALECELA IS IN MUCH MORE CONCILIATORY MOOD -- WHICH MAY WELL REFLECT ATTITUDE OF NYERERE AND CONFIDENTIAL

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OTHER CONCERNED AFRICANS. FROM AFRICAN SIDE, THEREFOR, POSSIBILITY OF EARLY CONVENING OF CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE ON RHODESIA MAY BE AT HAND.
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